





To Sambo a regiment is "towards ob dem," and a few guns grow marvelous, numerous as his tale is—often told. But, due allowance being made—of the negroes can be, and very little is necessary—the negroes can be, and have been, made a great help to us in our movements.

I am told that one of our most prominent officers has frequently declared that he has relied much on the information brought by our dark-skinned friends, and has not found it at fault with ascertained facts. In this particular expedition to Port Royal Ferry, they saved us by their warning statements from an ambush concocted by the rebels, and besides this gave other information in regard to the character of the country, the routes, the movements of the enemy, their intentions, which ought to make every officer and soldier grateful to them as useful and reliable friends, for by means of it many lives were saved, and greater precision and boldness were secured to our movements.

I assure you, it is much for an army in a hostile country to have the help of the strong arms and shrewd observation of the colored people. While white men have died before us like foxes, only taking breath to curse and malign us, the black men have stayed to be our friends. Surely these poor fellows have earned in their services to the Union the right to their freedom. They—the house-servants, particularly—have heard their masters' dinner-talk, and their apparently dull ears have been quick to catch details of intended movements. So from them, coming with bundles in hand to our lines, we can learn the spirit of the rebel people, as well as their devices against us. Surely, we ought to receive them with kindness, and reward their friendship.

## National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONGAGEMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.: Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BREKMAN STREET, NEW YORK." Letters regarding subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BREKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

## THE ALBANY CONVENTION.

Our readers—such of them especially as reside in this State—are reminded that the Sixth Annual New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, the official call for which has been heretofore published in our columns, will be held in ALBANY, in ASSOCIATION HALL, on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, Feb. 7th and 8th, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m. Three sessions will be held each day.

It would seem almost superfluous, at the present critical juncture, to urge upon the friends of the cause in the Empire State the importance of a numerous attendance at this Convention. Never was there greater need that Abolitionists, who have borne the heat and burden of the conflict with slavery for so many years, should meet together for earnest consultation in regard to the measures necessary to be adopted to secure the triumph of their cause. Let them gather, then, from every part of the State, in a spirit worthy of the hour, and with a fixed determination to perform any labor and make any sacrifice that may be required to bring the People and the Government to see that the salvation of the country from the perils that environ it depends upon the emancipation of the slaves.

Among the speakers who will address the Convention are WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, BERTHA GREEN, PARKER PILLSBURY, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, AARON M. POWELL, and others.

## LAST YEAR AND THIS.

We could not but consider, when attending the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the year which has elapsed since the last one was held, a twelvemonth since, had brought forth, the volcano of civil war which is now in full blast was then heaving and belching, emitting from time to time admonitory puffs of smoke, warning all within its reach of the fiery outbreak which we are now witnessing. Happily, moral as well as volcanic eruptions have their beneficent as well as their destructive aspects, and general and ultimate good is educed from partial and immediate evil. The long smoldering passions of men, like the impatient central fires, demand the vent of a fierce outbreak, and though many lives may be lost and much injury inflicted, the world is the better for the relief thus found, in the end. But there is this material difference between the moral and the material explosions, that the central fires which blaze up from the mouths of Vesuvius and Hecula are guided by the wisdom that rules the universe, and are utterly beyond the reach and control of mortal agency, whereas the passions of men which flame out into war are within the power of those to whom they are given for good purposes and wise ends, and may be made the agents of beneficence instead of destruction. And it is the business of the true statesman, as well as of the wise moralist, so to guide men and so to arrange affairs as to save them from the risks and from the mischiefs resulting from the sway and sweep of their stormy passions.

But to return to the last year and the Massachusetts A. S. Society as a measure of the changes since then. It was the occasion of the fullest proof of the existence of a secret conspiracy, extending widely through the free States, to secure the domination of the Slave Power, in one form or another, over the whole country. Most of the States, if not all, now in rebellion, had already seceded. Jefferson Davis was at the head of the secession. Nearly two millions remained, during which the control of affairs would remain in the feeble if not treacherous hands of James Buchanan. A system of terrorism was organized throughout the free States to crush out of existence all antagonism to slavery, and to awe the quiet portion of the community into submission to whatever terms the minority might demand as the price of their forgiveness of the majority. As a proof of this, no Anti-Slavery Meeting could be held for months previous in the rural districts and small cities of this State or of the Western States, without occasioning disturbances and riots more serious than had been known since the earlier days of the movement. In this city nothing but a Metropolitan police made it possible for Wendell Phillips to be heard; while in Boston his life was openly sought, in the broad light of successive Sundays, as a sweet-smelling sacrifice to the obscene idol to which it seemed as if the nation was joined. The meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society there was broken up by a howling and bloody-minded mob, virtually countenanced by the Mayor of the city, while the Republican Executive of the State covered before it and hid itself. These treacherable movements—for such they were, being in avowed support of open treason—were organized and directed by a secret society, whose meetings were advertised by a cut of a bundle of sticks and a date without a name—the last of which appeared on the Wednesday after Sumter. It was the expectation of these miscreants, as it was the intention of the secessionists, that the inauguration of President Lincoln would be prevented, that Washington would be taken possession of by their partisans, that Philadelphia, New York and Boston would rise in the same behalf, and that the coup d'état would be completed by the substitution of Breckinridge or Davis for Lincoln, and the establishment of the Slave Power, by a packed Convention, without resort to the people, forever over the nation.

The patience and long suffering of the nation had given plausible reason for these opinions. The very Abolitionists, whose business it is to watch the signs of the times and mark the first footsteps of history,

even they could not believe that there was as much red blood in the nation's heart as the boom of the first cannon at Sumter sent boiling through its veins. Mayor Wood and *The Herald* here, Mayor Wightman and *The Courier* in Boston, men of their sympathies and affluence everywhere, were as much astonished at finding themselves compelled, by the mere dint of moral force (with perhaps an intimation in some of their cases of its possibly taking a physical manifestation) into a posture of opposition to the slave-drivers, as the slave-drivers were themselves at this unprecedented attitude of their white chattels. They had not reckoned on the direction which even selfish interest would give to the wealthy and potential classes in the great cities, especially, as soon as the slave-drivers had committed the overt act of treason which made war unavoidable. The very principle which made them willing to make every concession to slavery that its partisans could demand, if they would only keep the peace, and even content that Abolitionists should be mobbed and exterminated, if necessary to the result, taught them instinctively that nothing but the reduction and punishment of the rebels could make them safe in their possessions under a constitutional government. Hence the secessions under the name of Sumter, which, transpiring into silence if not into annihilation the privy conspiracy at the North, and disconcerted all their well-laid schemes. And along with this, we are willing to admit, there was a feeling of outraged national honor and sensibility to the insult offered to the national flag, which gave harmony and enthusiasm to that sublime uprising.

The twelve short months we have recorded the outrages offered to free speech in Boston have been full of history. We admit that this history has not been written with that beam of celestial light which would have glorified its bloody characters and canonized every man fallen in the battles it records as a martyr. Suffering has not yet taught the people or the government that Rebellion cannot be crushed and fostered by the same hand. President Lincoln still thinks that Christ and Belial, Liberty and Slavery, can be made to agree together in an equal Union. His generals and soldiers can be no better than their chief, and, consequently, their best successes have been of scarcely better consequence than their worst defeats. Still, there is this vast difference between this January and last. The North is embarked as one man against the South. Though pro-slavery sympathy with the Slave-drivers' Rebellion exists, it is no longer rampant. Of this late Massachusetts Meeting, from which we set out, is an example. That Society, from which all other Anti-Slavery Societies sprung, never held a better or more quiet meeting. Its sessions were always full, and the speeches which occupied them of the highest order for excellence and thoroughness. The only attempt at interruption came from a young Irish Lieutenant in Cass's Regiment, who sought that field of glory to signalize his patriotism, and, with an Irishman truly delicious, selected as the occasion of his patriotic interposition the Obituary Resolutions on Mr. Jackson, the late President of the Society! It is but justice, however, to the lad to say that his discretion was equal to his valor, and that he was very easily suppressed. When the last year has produced such changes, what may we not hope from the next. Certainly Emancipation were no more wild a prophecy from the standpoint of this year, than the present state of things from that of the last. At any rate, we are assured that nothing which this year can bring forth—foreign interposition, foreign war, even, or a compelled recognition of the independence of the rebels—nothing can be so hopeless and desperate as the apparent condition and prospects of the country a twelvemonth since.

## PERSONAL.

It is stated in a Washington dispatch to *The Evening Post* that Gen. Fremont, at his own request, is to have a regular military trial.

“NEOPOLE TITON delivered his lecture on ‘The Latest Questions of the War’ at Newtown, Bucks Co., on the 16th ult. It was received with much favor by a large audience.

John Brown, Jr., receives as recruits for the Kansas Brigade, able-bodied men, without inquiring the exact number of drops of Indian or African blood in their veins. Rash man! His brigade will hurt somebody if the War Department does not ‘modify’ it.

Rev. M. D. Conway, at the earnest solicitation of friends of freedom in this city, is engaged to deliver a lecture, entitled ‘The Nation's Golden Hour,’ at the Church of the Puritans, on Thursday evening of this week. We go to press at too early an hour to give any report of the meeting.

Geo. E. Baker, Esq., a son of John Baker, Esq., of Dedham, and formerly High Sheriff of Norfolk County, Mass., is the author of the article on ‘Mr. Seward's Diplomacy,’ in *The Continental Monthly*. Mr. Baker was at one time private Secretary to Mr. Seward, is his biographer, and now occupies a place in the State Department.

Mrs. Lucy Stone, the celebrated lecturer on Woman's Rights, who is residing with her husband and little daughter in Bloomfield, N. J., lately escaped what must have proved a fatal catastrophe, by removing her bed from a spot upon which the chimney of the house fell with crushing force during a severe storm of the preceding night.

Mr. Henry J. Winsor, correspondent of the *New York Times* at Port Royal, S. C., has been rudely and arbitrarily expelled from the camps by the military authorities, upon a charge of speaking disrespectfully of Gen. Sherman. Mr. Winsor is a gentleman in the best sense of the word, and we have no doubt that he has been unjustly treated. His well-known anti-slavery opinions may, perhaps, have brought down upon him the hostility of the Provost-Marshal.

George Wm. Curtis delivered his lecture on ‘National Honor’ in the regular course at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington on Friday evening last week. *The Times* correspondent says: ‘Of course, he spoke from the emancipation stand-point, and forcibly eliminated the theory that national honor was only to be truly attained by a steady, unswerving and unselfish enforcement of national justice. It was quite as ultra, and more polished, than any of the lectures heretofore read.’ The storm having deprived a large number of people of the opportunity of hearing Mr. Curtis, there was some talk of asking him to repeat his lecture, but the plan, for some reason not stated, did not succeed.

Rev. O. B. Frothingham's Sermon, ‘The Yegre's Record of Sadness and Gladness,’ published in a recent number of *The Standard*, has attracted no little attention. It is copied, we see, into *The Christian Inquirer*. The Roxbury *Mass. Journal* says of it: ‘It strikes us as next to Rev. Dr. Putnam's Sermon, last spring, the ablest pulpit production of the state of the times has yet elicited. The chastenings of the past year, and the blessings to grow out of them are depicted with a felicity of suggestion and an eloquence of style to which we scarcely know where to find a parallel. Mr. Frothingham, as a pulpit writer and an essayist, is, in our opinion, superior to any man of his age in America.’

The Hutchinson Family were, it seems, more cordially received by President Lincoln than by the Generals of the Army across the Potomac. They were in the throng at the President's last levee. Says a correspondent of *The Evening Post*: ‘Taking both of John's hands, the President told him with what pleasure he remembered his singing in Springfield, Ill., and asked if he would sing for him the dramatic song, ‘The Ship on Fire.’ In a moment more, the great drawing-rooms were vocal with the rich melody of the Hutchinson voices. ‘Only think,’ said little Viola Hutchinson to me, with childish naïveté, ‘after I was through N. P. Willis kissed my hand, and thanked me for the song. No one ever kissed my hand before, and you know he is such a lion!’

The improved tone of *The Independent* is manifest in nothing so much as in its treatment of radical reformers. Here, for example, is a paragraph from that

paper, which never could have found place in it and the former management:

“George Thompson, the well-known advocate of the anti-slavery cause, has been addressing great audiences in England on the present state of American affairs. His speeches, as we find them reported in the English papers, exhibit an admirable precision of statement, in remarkable contrast with the prevailing misrepresentations of the English press. His explanations of the workings of our government, of the relations of the Federal Executive to the States, and of the people of the United States, are all exceedingly accurate, appreciative, and eloquent. We honor the courage of the man who thus calmly opposes himself to the excitement of a whole nation for the sake of doing justice to a country three thousand miles away!”

## TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, on Thursday and Friday of last week, commencing at 10 o'clock on Thursday, at Allston Hall, corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets, with the exception of the closing one on Friday evening, which was held at Music Hall. A large number of the old and tried friends of the cause were in attendance, from various parts of the State, and the proceedings were characterized by the same earnestness and faith in the ultimate triumph of the right, which have made the meetings of the Society memorable from its organization to the present hour.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, presided on Thursday, and after calling the meeting to order, stated that prayer would be offered by Rev. Geo. W. Stacy, of Milford. After the conclusion of the prayer—which was appropriate to the occasion, and to the condition of the country—EDMUND JACKSON, Esq., Treasurer, read his report, as follows:

## RECEIPTS.

Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from Jan. 1, 1861, to January 1, 1862.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Balance in the Treasury, January 1, 1861.....  | \$1,234.24 |
| Bequest of the late John Rogers.....   | 100.00     |
| Receipts from the Bazaar.....  | 183.33     |
| Contributions at the meeting of July 4th.....  | 191.15     |
| Contributions at Annual Meeting.....   | 132.88     |
| Contributions at the 1st of August meeting.....  | 89.76      |
| Donations from the Hovey Fund.....   | 160.00     |
| Pledges, Subscriptions and Donations, as published monthly in <i>The Liberator</i> ..... | 1,599.08   |
| Total.....   | \$3,710.43 |

## DISBURSEMENTS.

During the same period, as follows:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Paid Office Rent.....   | \$467.60   |
| Expenses of Annual Meeting.....                                   | 250.00     |
| R. F. Wallcut, one year's salary.....                             | 425.04     |
| E. H. Heywood, General Agent, one year's salary and expenses..... | 898.14     |
| C. C. Burleigh, lecturing and expenses.....                       | 167.00     |
| P. O. Canning, lecturing and expenses.....                        | 84.32      |
| Office Furniture.....   | 24.00      |
| Reporting by J. M. W. Yerrinton, Wendell P. Garrison.....         | 67.00      |
| American Anti-Slavery Society.....                                | 408.33     |
| Repository.....   | 80.00      |
| Expenses of Friends meeting.....                                  | 10.00      |
| Circulating Petitions.....  | 19.00      |
| Fifty Copies <i>Liberator</i> .....                               | 24.00      |
| A. T. Foss, lecturing and expenses.....                           | 65.00      |
| Sallie Holley, lecturing and expenses.....                        | 136.73     |
| Charles L. Remond.....  | 7.50       |
| Samuel May, Jr.....   | 41.25      |
| Balance.....  | 11.08      |
| Total.....  | \$3,710.43 |

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

January 10, 1862—I have examined the accounts of Edmund Jackson, Treasurer, for the year 1861, and find the same to be correct, and properly vouched; and the foregoing abstract of the same is correct.

WM. L. BOWDITCH, Auditor.

Three Assistant Secretaries were then appointed: C. K. WHITTELL, J. M. W. YERRINTON, WENDELL P. GARRISON.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, a Business Committee was appointed, as follows: W. L. GARRISON, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, C. L. Remond, Lydia Maria Child, Henry C. Wright, Giles B. Stebbins.

On motion of Mr. MAY, the following Committees were appointed:

On *Nomination of Officers*—Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester; Jas. N. Buffum, of Lynn; Wm. Ashby, of Newburyport; J. B. Swasey, of Roxbury; Briggs Arnold, of Abington; J. Henry Abbot, of Amherst; Samuel Barrett, of Concord; George Miles, of Westminister; Alvan Hovey, of Barnstable.

Finance Committee—E. D. Draper, E. H. Heywood, Maria S. Page, Mary Willey, Thos. H. Hathaway.

The President then introduced Rev. Wm. R. ALGER, of Boston, who was received with applause. He made an able and interesting speech, which was heard with marked attention, and frequently applauded.

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed, in a speech of great eloquence and power, the leading ideas of which were embodied in his address on ‘The Times,’ printed a fortnight ago. For this reason, we attempt no report of it here.

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, the meeting adjourned to 2½ o'clock, p. m.

## Afternoon Session.

On Thursday afternoon, the meeting was called to order by JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, who introduced to the meeting J. B. SWASEY, Esq., of Boston.

Mr. SWASEY commented on the statement of Henry Ward Beecher that the North should beware of imitating the South by unconstitutional action. He showed that the exigencies of war require a policy and a course of action entirely beyond that ordinarily contemplated by the Constitution; and that, since that instrument recognizes the possibility of war, and provides for it, the movements indispensable to success in war are not in violation of the Constitution. Great darkness and doubt prevail in the public mind in regard to this matter. Gen. Sherman neglects the instructions of the Secretary of War about drilling and arming the slaves; and our people at home do not see that military law under the Constitution is just as constitutional as any other law. Even Mr. Beecher hesitates before this question; cannot recognize the expediency of emancipation under martial law; does not remember the benefits of the overthrow of slavery even in Jamaica, where it was so strongly opposed. When such a man fails in this emergency, the prospect for heroes is dark indeed. Who knows what military dictator from North or South may override us, so deep is the demoralization of the Northern people!

He, however, took a more hopeful view of the position of the country than that taken in the morning. He expected military success on the part of the North, and great results to freedom from such success. Perhaps a generation of toil and conflict is before us. But he believed no fugitive slave would ever again be returned to bondage from New England.

Mr. EZRA H. HEYWOOD (who became acting General Agent during the illness of Rev. Samuel May, Jr.) then made a statement respecting the action of the Society and the labors of its Agents during the past year.

Mr. MAY spoke earnestly of the continued necessities of the cause, the urgent need of unremitting labors in this critical hour, and the duty of giving liberally to sustain those labors. The Finance Committee then entered upon their work of collection.

Mr. GARRISON then mentioned the case of a colored man, Levi Ward, who, having redeemed himself, his wife and one child from slavery, was now seeking means to purchase the freedom of another child.

Mr. WARD appeared on the platform, and gave some account of his life. Born a slave in Maryland, he began, at fourteen years old, to work in spare hours for the purchase of his own freedom. He was accustomed to split rails at night for this purpose; and when it was accomplished, he felt as good as Mr. Lincoln, though he had become only a freeman, while Mr. Lincoln had become President (applause). He served nine years as pilot on the Chesapeake. He paid \$1,500 for himself, \$500 for his wife, \$450 for one child, and was now raising the residue of another \$450 for his second child.

Mr. GARRISON remarked on the absence of revengefulness and bitterness of spirit in the story of Mr. Ward. He declared, that he had never heard of all the statements of freed slaves he had ever heard. They exhibited only thankfulness to God for their deliverance; and we should take to heart the lesson taught by such facts, as well as by the patient and persevering industry with which Mr. Ward had sought the freedom of himself and his family.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem, next spoke.

He had been for some months comparatively silent, and he could see little to hope in our position at the present moment. He sided rather with Mr. Phillips than with Mr. Alger in the view taken of our prospects. Few men could place themselves in the point of view of the black man, and the more one did so the less encouragement would he feel. Not only in Washington

and in Pennsylvania, but in Massachusetts, the colored man is still disfranchised, and kept in an unequal, degraded position. In Washington, his (the speaker) would be no safer now than he was ten years ago; even in Massachusetts, his native State, he could not shoulder a musket for his country; and if he were with the army on the Potomac, he could not wear the national uniform. Things were not so in 1776 and 1812; under Washington and Jackson. In both these wars, black men as well as white shed their blood in defence of their country. Now they are not allowed even to bear arms for this purpose. Yet no one of this race has been found a rebel or traitor to his country. Such treatment, under such circumstances, made him doubt whether the boasted forbearance and forgiving spirit of the black man were a virtue. They had yet to prove their manhood by rising against their masters. This people, whether triumphant or trampled under foot, are an existing element in this country. They have grown, under all sorts of persecution, to more than four million. As well as you extirpate the Canada thistle as expatriate them. At this moment, the negro is blocking the progress of the government's success, nor will the rebellion be put down until justice is done him. You cannot with impunity violate God's laws upon this subject, any more than his physical laws. John Brown has shown us the way to success. If freedom come not so, beware lest this poor blind Samson pull down the pillars of your national edifice, and bury you with himself in its ruins.

Hon. E. W. BIRD was then called on by the President.

Who is it that now keeps the child of Levi Ward in slavery? Not the local laws of Maryland. It is the Massachusetts troops whom we have sent there; it is you and I who are protecting slavery in Maryland and Virginia to-day. Against constitutional right as well as justice, the blacks are held in slavery by the Federal officers, or sent back to the masters from whom they have escaped. When Major Gen. Banks was Governor of this State, he vetoed the measure which would have secured militia privileges to the blacks.

Mr. SEWARD has uniformly declared that this war is for the institutions of the South as they were before the rebellion. The war we are now making is not only not against slavery, it is expressly for the protection of slavery. Our government has not emancipated a single slave where it could imprison him. Those in possession of the Federal army are still held as slaves. We have slaves with their rebel masters at Fort Warren in Boston harbor, waiting for the release of those masters to be again placed in their power. The slave roll is called there every morning under the shadow of Bunker Hill. He was no longer for ‘schooling ourselves to silence’ under such circumstances. The key of the slave's chain is now kept in the White House. Our Administration has gone to the rescue of slavery, which had almost completely atrophied.

Mr. BUFFUM wished to ask whether, in Mr. Lincoln's very peculiar circumstances, he had not done all that could reasonably be expected of him. His appointment of the anti-slavery Gen. Lane to active service he thought was an encouraging sign of progress.

Adjourned to 7, p. m.

## Evening Session.

The meeting was called to order soon after 7 o'clock. Mr. QUINCY in the chair. The first speaker was WILLIAM DAVIS, one of the fruits of the great rebellion, plucked from the ‘sacred soil’ of Virginia, and gathered into the garner of Freedom. He gave a highly interesting account of the condition of his fellow ‘contrabands’ at Fortress Monroe, testifying, not only to their willingness, but eagerness, to labor, and their appreciation of the great boon which has been conferred upon them. He said he was born and raised a slave. He had seven children, five of whom had been sold away from him.

He noticed the claim often made that the slaves do not desire freedom, and that they expressly say this when asked by their master and his friends. He frankly admitted that he had often made this same answer to the inquiries of his mistress, being well assured that it was his only way to escape being sold South. But, said he, when William said so, William lied. He knew, and God knew, that he wanted to be free. When Mr. Pierce, one of their teachers in the Freedmen's school, asked if they wanted to be free, they all answered, ‘Yes!’ They were also very desirous of education. They were very desirous of learning to read the Bible, and they wish instruction of all kinds, understanding that it will help them against re-enslavement.

Hon. N. H. WHITMAN then addressed the audience, in a very forcible speech, admirable in thought and expression, in the course of which he made some severe strictures upon the position taken by England in regard to the contest now going on in this country. JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., a member of the Suffolk bar, followed, in a most effective speech, which will be reported hereafter.

Mr. GARRISON made the concluding speech of the evening, and was heard with profound attention. He found great cause for congratulation and hope in the changes that had taken place in the past year, and expressed his conviction that the people of England sympathized with the North in the present struggle.

## Friday Morning.

At 10 o'clock the Society was called to order. GILES B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., said it might be supposed that the persons present at the opening meeting were Abolitionists, and he should speak on that supposition.

We are accused, as defenders of the slave, of caring for no other person, of disregarding the other constituents of society. But in fact, by the very act of taking a humane and Christian point of view, by looking at the rights and interests of the poorest and weakest, we see, with special clearness what are the rights and interests of all, and what course of action will best promote the welfare of all.

Our work as Abolitionists is not affected by probabilities in regard to this or that issue of the war. We are to prepare the way for emancipation, which must inevitably come. Union or disunion, reconstruction or the old order, no matter which may result, slavery must go down. That is one thing settled, and we must prepare the public mind for that result. The work is not done, even when the shackles have fallen from the slave. What prejudice and hatred must still be overcome and removed after he has become a freeman! This is our work, a work of long years.

We have put ourselves in the position of the slave, while pleading his cause, and we must continue to labor in the same way. It is this fact which has made the Abolitionists more clear-sighted as to the immorality and the disastrous effects of slavery than any other class. We know that to-day the negro holds the nation in the hollow of his hand. He is to turn the scale, and our action in relation to him is to prolong or put down the rebellion. We are dying out as a nation, for want of a purpose. The Abolitionists alone have a just, worthy and manly purpose, namely, emancipation, and this ought also to be adopted by the whole country. It is this which should inspire Gen. Sherman at Port Royal, and immediately on its adoption Savannah and Charleston would drop into his hands. Why should we not learn from the example of John Brown? His army of twenty men, inspired by this purpose, made Virginia tremble from one end to the other. On the other hand, McClellan, wanting this purpose, sits inactive with his mighty army, guarding the Capital, and the enemy boldly challenges him to meet them at Manassas. The Abolitionists see these things clearly, and must educate the people to see them; must teach the North that the rebels have divested themselves of all constitutional rights; that slavery may be destroyed now under the Constitution; and that whenever freedom shall be proclaimed, success begins.

He did not take that hopeless view of our prospects which seemed to depress those of the speakers. Our friends have not too severely criticised the government, but they have underrated the pitch of public sentiment, at least in New England is not behind the South in this regard. He knew of vast progress in the sentiments of the people, at least in the West. He had been a witness of the unanimity which Fremont evoked all over that region. He might almost have been a dictator in carrying out emancipation. It was sad to think of New England as falling behind the West in anti-slavery sentiment, yet he feared it was so. He had heard Charles Sumner grossly abused in Boston without rebuke from people respectable in external appearance. In Illinois he was sure that such calumny would have been answered with words, if not with blows. There is a difference in the expression of feeling between the East and West. Taking them together, however, he

really believed that a majority of the Northern people desire and approve the immediate emancipation of the slaves as a war measure.

And this cause is constantly gaining fresh adherents, and among classes the most diverse in opinion upon other subjects. Dr. BROWN, representing the extreme of ecclesiastical conservatism, openly declared that emancipation is the only safety of this nation. On the other hand, Andrew Jackson Davis, representing the highest degree of spiritual freedom, takes precisely the same ground in his widely circulated *Heavenly Prophecy*. The extremes being thus unanimous upon this point, the means are constantly tending in the same direction. Soldiers in the ranks are feeling this influence from within, and are beginning to feel that their inspiring war has not been spoken to them by their leaders. All classes are perceiving at last the great truths that the Abolitionists have been proclaiming for years.

Why have we war to-day? Why are we subjected to a thing so horrible as war always is? It is a thing never comes but from the low state of development of man's better nature. This war was inevitable, considering the state of depravation to which the nation had sunk. Our care must be that it shall not be renewed, five, ten or twenty years hence. Civilization and barbarism are contending, and the latter must be forever. The public press is far below the feeling of the people all over the country, on this question. Does *The Post* utter the sentiment of Massachusetts? No! *The Courier* speak the mind of New England? No!

So with the Administration, which admits itself to be without a purpose, drifting along at the mercy of events. The wise man takes opportunity by the forelock and makes events. Whatever the grade of advance of the people, the government is far behind them. Lincoln is without a policy, while Jefferson Davis has one that is real and vigorous in action, however Satanic in character.

Yet, let us not be discouraged, remembering the law of degrees. Not all at once, step by step only, the people will come up, and the government must ultimately follow them. ‘The mill of God grinds slowly, but it grinds exceeding small.’ We should be sustained by broad and cheerful views, working on with steady perseverance for the accomplishment of our great object. Garrison does not now speak alone. The *New York Tribune* speaks with him. Many papers and many persons speak with him, and the circle is widening daily. After his thirty years of persecution and unpopularity, the nation finds itself compelled to move in his direction.

Probably a year from this time will have decided the fate of this nation. Probably twelve months will bring us either the jubilee or a defeat. If the latter, it can be but temporary. But we shall have, in either case, a sense of duty done to humanity and to God.

No true word, no grand deed, is ever lost. The words and deeds of John Brown will go down the path of time as redeeming and strengthening influences for all succeeding nations; and whatever we may do towards the freedom of the enslaved will in like manner live and bear abundant fruit after us (applause).

On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., it was voted that half-past eleven be assigned for the consideration of finance. It was also voted on motion of Mr. MAY that the Committee on the Nomination of Officers be enlarged by the addition of George Miles of Westminister, and Alvan Hovey of Barnstable.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following brief remarks, with the accompanying resolutions, as a substitute for a speech:

HENRY C. WRIGHT.—Mr. President, I want to make a speech, but not in the usual way. I would make it in the form of resolutions. I do not offer them with a view to have the meeting act upon them, but simply as expressive of my own thoughts and feelings. I wrote them solely with reference to my own convictions, and not with any reference to the convictions of the Society or the meeting. I will read the resolutions, and if it is thought best to put upon record what I say, I wish them to be recorded as my speech:

Resolved, That we regard the preservation of liberty and the abolition of slavery as of more importance to the people of this and of all nations, than the preservation of the Constitution and government of the United States, or of any other particular form of government.

Resolved, That slavery is the foundation-principle and controlling spirit of the slaveholders' rebellion, and all efforts to crush the rebellion must be prompted by intense and enduring hatred for slavery, and a supreme religious devotion to liberty, must prove abortive.

Resolved, That the present war, on the part of the South, is not a war for the abolition of liberty and the preservation of slavery; and, on the part of the North, is a war for the abolition of slavery and the preservation of liberty.

Resolved, That the present bloody and sorrowful conflict is not between rival States and governments, but solely between liberty and slavery, and the conflict is inevitable and can never be repressed but by the entire and unconditional abolition of one or the other of the contending powers.

Resolved, That until the friends of freedom and free institutions shall have courage and honesty openly and emphatically to avow that they are struggling for liberty and against slavery, they do not deserve and cannot hope to succeed in their efforts to bring the war to a speedy and triumphant issue.

Resolved, That no slaveholder nor apologist for slavery can be loyal and true to a Constitution and government whose object is ‘to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty’; and every concession to slaveholders, because of their supposed loyalty, is the foulest and most fatal treason against a government aiming at such noble objects.

Resolved, That while a *bullet* may kill the slaveholder, an *idea* alone can kill slavery; that all that has been achieved for liberty and against slavery, in the ages and kingdoms of the past, has been gained in a way of ideas and not bullets; and never has the duty more incumbent on Abolitionists than at the present hour, to engage earnestly and persistently in that war of *ideas* inaugurated by W. L. Garrison thirty years ago, and in which they have succeeded successfully for the abolition of slavery and the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of liberty ever since.

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, we can now innocently and earnestly support and help execute the Constitution of the United States, because it now empowers us to abolish slavery and proclaim liberty to all under its jurisdiction; and







